UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

The Return of John Calvin

By ALSON H. ROBINSON

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part II, Chapter XXIII. *By* M. K. GANDHI

Strange Bedfellows

By DOREMUS SCUDDER

Can Materialism Be Spiritualized?

By ROBERT WHITAKER

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVIII MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1927 NUMBER 25

That which I value most in my religion or my aspiration, I seek to find corroborated, in its fundamental unity, in other great religions, or in hopes expressed in the history of other peoples.

Each great movement of thought and endeavor in any part of the world may have something unique in its expression, but the truth underlying any of them has never the meretricious cheapness of utter novelty about it. The great Ganges must not hesitate to declare its essential similarity to the Nile of Egypt, or to the Yangtse-Kiang of China. Only the water-spout displays a sudden arrogance of singularity and vanishes in the void, leaving mother Nature ashamed of so monstrous a production!

Whenever we find, in the immensity of the human mind the prototype of something which we hold most precious in ourselves, we should rejoice. The pride of special possession can cling only to that which has merely a market value.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

The sinister threat to a right settlement of the Mexico and Nicaragua situations is the adjournment of Congress on March 4th next. If we were a representative, like Mr. Huddleston, or a senator, like Mr. Borah, who desired peace, we would resort to every legitimate and even desperate means of compelling a special session. For the one check upon the President and his Secretary of State, in what is still undoubtedly their desire if not intention to force things with our southern neighbors, is Congress regularly meeting every day. Under this condition the administration is unable to get away with anything hidden and disreputable, for sleepless watchers and ruthless critics are on the job at the capital, who have the ear of the public and thus can lift instantly a cry of alarm which will be heard. Then, too, Congress is the one great channel through which flow the tides of public protest. Sending letters and resolutions to the White House or the Department of State means comparatively little, for they pass into the hands of heedless secretaries by whom they are easily disposed of. But protests addressed to your senator or representative is another thing again! He hears the voice of his constituents—"his master's voice"—and he proceeds forthwith to get busy. It was through Congress, for both these reasons, that the recent magnificent public protest against Kellogg's inept and dangerous machinations was made immediately effective. But wait, now, until Congress adjourns! There will then be nobody to watch, and to rise in the great national forum of debate and tell what he sees. The channels of public protest will be effectually choked. The administration will at once be able to do anything that it wants to do, with no warning or corrective in sight anywhere. The White House spokesman may talk freely against arbitration. Secretary Kellogg may renew his silly talk of Bolshevism. Convenient atrocities will be committed south of the Rio Grande, and duly exploited. Of course American citizens will be killed—that is always seen to! And all this will have no contradiction of its untruth or exposure of its shame. Danger begins anew, unless Congress can be held together, after March 4th!

Was there ever a more convincing illustration of the futility of disarmament agitation, in the present state of world affairs, than is seen in the development of gas warfare in Europe today, more particularly in France? It will be remembered that Germany originated gas warfare, and all the world was promptly and appropriately horrified. To use such a monstrous weapon as this was to prove oneself a barbarian, a Hun! At Versailles, in due denunciation of the hated enemy and all his works, gas warfare, flame-throwing, etc., were duly outlawed by specific articles in the treaty. The world was saved from this abomination! But now, behold what is going on! The French Ministry of War has recently announced that liquid flame-throwing squads would soon be incorporated in every battalion of the French army. In addition we are told that a large gas school is being maintained at Aubervillers, where hundreds of officers are being instructed in the latest phases of chemical warfare. In extenuation of this imitation of German atrocities and this frank violation of solemn treaty agreements—just as though the Versailles Treaty were nothing but "a scrap of paper"!—France declares that her purpose is purely defensive, that she has no intention of using gas and liquid fire first, but only to be prepared in case an enemy employs it in the next war. Here is Germany working night and day to perfect two new gases, one of which will render harmless all other known gases, and the other put whole armies to sleep for four hours. Here is Russia announcing cryptically that she "would rather not discuss what she is doing in chemical warfare." Must not France "be prepared," say the French army chiefs, for defense against this sort of thing? Italy and Belgium feel the same way; they are building up formidable chemical warfare departments "because all other countries are doing it." And

so the vicious circle completes itself—preparedness itself defeating preparedness, and laying the ground for the next war! There is no breaking this circle, let it be pointed out again, except by a frontal attack on war. Preparedness will cease when war is outlawed. So long as war is possible, and the nations feel insecure, they will arm themselves to the teeth and thus hasten the inevitable.

The McAdoo hat is in the ring. The McAdoo sword is out of the scabbard. The McAdoo cohorts are mobilizing. The McAdoo speech at Toledo, and numerous other antecedent and subsequent incidents, make it clear that the dead-lock of 1924 is to be renewed in the Democracy of 1928. How glad some of us are that we are permitted to spell our democracy with a small initial! Anything to distinguish it! And the cause of Prohibition—what it will suffer none can predict. The chief trouble with Prohibition is that it has become the football of the most bare-faced partisan politics. Perhaps this was inevitable, and we should be glad that the disease is progressing from stage to stage so rapidly and conformably to type. It were better not to contract the disease, to be sure. But since it has been contracted, permanent immunity will doubtless be the more secure if the disease runs its course as thoroughly and swiftly as possible. It would be idle to hope, any way, that redemption might come through the Democratic Party. Indeed, neither of the historic political parties affords definite promise of any good. Only the education of all the people will alone put prohibition into a place of permanent security in our social system. Such antics as we are likely to witness from now until the fall of 1928 will fortunately contribute their share to the inevitable process. Next let us see what the Republican Party can add to the gaiety and disgust of the general public. The Smith-McAdoo dead-lock bids fair to be deadly prosy from this time on. Yet, if the Republicans decide to continue to keep cool with Coolidge on the Prohibition question, even the Smith-McAdoo feud may take on such life by way of contrast as to make it interesting. In any case the prospects of a vital, socially constructive campaign in 1928 do not improve. If either Smith or McAdoo gets the Democratic nomination, he will lead a hopelessly split party. If their friends succeed in killing themselves and both of their candidates, the dark horse emerging from the fracas will be dark indeed. So, again the walk-over of the Republican candidate will be assured. Such is politics! How long, O Lord, how long?

All success to Mr. Wells in his quest for a democratic society which will decline to bow down in homage to the "leader." He believes he has found it, has found at least its promise, in Russia and in China. His interpretations of contemporaneous history which are running in the New York *Times* start off in Wellsian character. They will appear every two weeks for an indefinite period. The plan affords an opportunity to stir the common thinking as no man alive can do so effectively as can H. G. W. His insights have never been keener than when he sets out in his present search for a society which will realize a true democracy through group thinking and action, not through the occasional man on horseback, nor the hero of the hour, nor any other demigod. He is hopeful of Russia and China, and correspondingly pessimistic about European and American society. It is true that our western civilization still laments Napoleon. He was naughty, but there was still something mighty nice about him. To this day, whenever we find ourselves floundering in the wilderness our irresistible impulse is to cry out for a Moses to bring us through. We are hopeless of every crisis until the "leader" appears. All this is apparent, and goes far to justify Mr. Wells's pessimism. If the only hope lies in the new norms and ideals developing in Russian Sovietism and Chinese popular movements, then the man of the world-mind and the human vision must rejoice at least in that prospect. But one does not need to be a jingo to discover glimmerings of promise even in certain western tendencies. We still worship the hero, but not for long. We set our leaders on the pedestal, but how speedily and summarily do we topple them off! Which is hard on the "leader," and sometimes nicks the pedestal, but it is good for society! Perhaps even an American society will one day develop which will be vital enough in its common thought and forceful enough in its common action to be worthy of the democratic ideal.

President Suzzallo, of the Washington State University, started something by his recent Portland, Oregon, speech. Before a convention of educators he challenged the general trend of the discussion by repudiating the alleged obligation of the educator to train for morals and character. Intellectual culture, he maintains, is the primary and sole responsibility of the schools. He got a resounding hand-clap from a body which had just been listening to exposition of the contrary doctrine. The discussion has waxed warm and has spread throughout the country since. Leading educators are dividing on the issue. They may well take it seriously. It is true that the home, the church and other institutions dealing with the child are falling down on their job, and the school may properly object to being scourged for their sins. But the educator may not forget that character formation is not a side issue. It cannot be induced by cautious injections administered during the brief moments when the young are not rushing to or from their strenuous school duties. The educator has appropri-

ated more and more of the waking hours of the young, and has, indeed, encroached upon the hours which should be devoted to sleep. The recent popular wave of enthusiasm for education has apparently encouraged educators in making new and uncompromising levies. The student who has time left for anything else after the class-room and social program of the schools has been followed, is rare, and his extra-scholastic culture is at its best an affair to be wedged in between jumps. Not only do other institutions of society get little or no chance at the young, but their sponsors and intelligent educators alike must know that ethical culture is farcical and impossible when attempted independently of the main issues of life. The main issue for the young centers in the school. Neither President Suzzallo nor any other educator will yield this supremacy, however liberal they may suppose themselves to be in allowing the student home time. If educators cannot get this issue straight, parents and society at large will take a hand. They will perhaps tell educators where, in the rough parlance of the day, to get on and get off.

One of the issues which President Suzzallo's bomb may again uncover is that of the place and aim of religious education in a democracy. It ought to. If it does not, something else ought to do so. A wave of zeal for religious education recently swept over the country. But its surge seems to have been lost in the back eddies of sectarian prerogative. Broad-minded educators broached the issue. Yes, shouted sectarian leaders who saw in it a chance for new conquests, at least for strengthening sadly weakened defenses, we agree that religious education is being sadly neglected. Drive the truants back into our church schools and we shall put them through the regimen which has served during the past of our glorious power! A restoration of lost power, the power to dogmatize, the power to retain the grip of decadent traditionalism—the event has showed that this is what much of the Catholic and Protestant enthusiasm for religious education craved. These forces were rejoiced to be accorded the prestige and, so far as they could secure it, the strong arm of the secular school, in their effort to restore a decadent religious system. It is not surprising, under the circumstances, that enthusiasm among liberals for systematic education in ethics and religion should have slumped. The movement, in its inception, was a liberal movement. It was generated among groups of enlightened educators who felt keenly the limitations under which they labored amid the crass and crabbed interpretations of the time-honored American doctrine of the separation of church and state. Many of them vaguely hoped that the way might somehow be opened for them to incorporate in their curricula a system of religious and ethical training which would harmonize with the constructive thinking inspired among their pupils by the discipline of their scientific class-rooms. The results so far have been disillusioning. Must disillusion end in despair? Can nothing be done to insure a religious training safe for democracy?

The Return of John Calvin

In Mr. Sandburg's "Life of Lincoln" he says that when Lincoln was a small boy he was always asking questions about the meaning of words. One word that he heard repeated a good deal during the theological disputes of his day was the word, Predestination. He asked the meaning of that word and lay awake hours at night thinking of its possible meaning. One suspects that Lincoln is not the only person who has been kept awake thinking about the imaginary terrors which were introduced into the world through the inexorable logic of John Calvin and his associates during the Protestant Reformation. "Since God is all powerful," said Calvin, "salvation is wholly in his hands. Whom he will save, he will, whom he will damn is predestined to the eternal flames." The former enhance his mercy, the latter his justice, both alike, his glory. Unrestricted by any limitations whatsoever, Calvin believed that even holiness in this present life is beyond our voluntary control.

Substantially this was the dominant note which was transmitted by the Scotch and English reformers to the early settlers in America, and which therefore characterized the thought of those who founded these colonies and organized our first churches. But time has dealt severely with this particular variety of fatalism and few remain to pay it reverence. It was inevitable that any form of thought so far removed from the average standards of human justice should sooner or later run its course. Chiefly did this change take place through the softening influences of the liberal ministry of the 19th century, best exemplified by that of Emerson and Channing. "One sublime idea," says Channing, "has taken firm hold upon my mind; it is the greatness of the human soul." When you get a person talking like that and a lot of people interested in what he says, the doom of predestination has sounded.

The issue, however, is not quite extinct. The question behind it is one of perennial vitality; namely, whether we are or are not free agents. Calvin said we

are not; today even the Presbyterians insist that we are. From a theological point of view those who are interested to revive the issue are perfectly at liberty to do so. The point is that whether we are interested or not in the religious elements involved, there are certain currents of thought today which appear to bear striking resemblance to the fatalism of another day, and which might almost suggest that John Calvin has come back to life again.

Biological. The word heredity occupies a large place in the scientific as well as the practical thought of our time. More and more are we coming to realize that the principles laid down by George Mendel to the effect that certain fixed elements in the human species are transmitted from one generation to another, is a situation which demands recognition. There are certain biological laws behind which it is impossible to go, as things stand at present. It appears from the testimony of the best scientists that little is known about this law and therefore dogmatism is altogether unjustified, but certain generalizations remain which are conclusive.

The quarrel which most fair-minded persons will find with this situation comes through the unwarranted application of biological principles under conditions which are not justified. Mr. Trotter in his "Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War," separates all mankind into three divisions, as regards gregarious types. He presents us with certain examples from the humbler forms of animal life in which these types are illustrated, beginning with the wolf and dog as types of the aggressive sort, and ending with the socialized structure of the bee and ant. It is all very well until he goes so far as to say that—"as between the path which England finds herself in, and that which Germany has chosen, there is a divergence which almost amounts to a specific difference in the biological scale." It will be observed, to be sure, that this judgment was projected under the emotion of the war. And of course nobody would attempt to maintain such a classification seriously today, by reason of the fact that Germany has been defeated, is paying her debts, and we don't think of Germany as any different in the biological scale than anybody else. The people who are biologically different today are the Nicaraguans, the Mexicans, and the Chinese. When somebody does something we do not like, he is biologically different. It is too bad that he happened to be born that way; it is awfully hard luck for him, but there isn't a thing in the world that he can do about it. To be sure, such argument is frequently difficult to substantiate. If being born black for example is a sign of inferiority, what are you going to say to such persons as Paul Robeson and Roland Hayes and James Weldon Johnson. It makes your biological argument for inferiority and predestination sound rather funny.

Environmental. The environmental theory as an explanation of the determining forces and direction of civilization has always been a popular one by reason of the fact that here is something tangible. Buckle's "History of Civilization" still has great charm for many readers; while in our own day one of the most influential of these environmentalists, Professor Ellsworth Huntington of Yale, centers his emphasis largely upon the climatic rather than a general environmental interpretation. And it has to be admitted that you can make out a pretty good case if you select any particular child or group of children and proceed to explain their reactions by what goes on in the homes in which they are nurtured, and the schools in which they are taught. On the other hand it must be obvious that as we advance in civilization we become less dependent upon our environment. How long, for instance, could the people of New York City live upon the environment which surrounds them. Unprovided with the food and clothing, the barest necessities by which bodily life is sustained and which they get from every quarter of the known world—apart from these, how long would any such place continue to exist. Conversely the tiniest hamlet which might be regarded as reasonably self-supporting may find itself in touch with the civilization and physical environment of any spot in the world. The environmentalists as the successors of John Calvin had better give it up.

Mental. The introduction of intelligence tests, so called, into the public schools of America has aroused wide-spread and violent discussion. Unquestionably, they serve purposes of conspicuous value and should be encouraged. On the other hand, the conditions under which these tests are given are necessarily artificial and must be so simple that only a very narrow range of the psychological equipment can be compared. John Dewey says, "Intelligence is not something possessed once for all. It is in constant process of forming, and its conditions require constant alertness in observing consequences, an open-minded will to learn, and courage in readjustment." Here again is food for thought, as John Calvin attempts to return.

Economic. The materialistic interpretation of history, commonly known as economic determinism, has always exercised profound influence upon aspirants to an understanding of social behavior. James Madison said, "The causes of political factions are various—and unequal distribution of property," while Lincoln insisted that "Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration." It is generally conceded that our difficulties today in Mexico and China are not political but economic. When once those people permit us to satisfy our passion in the exploitation of their natural resources, we will leave them perfectly free to institute any form of political organization which they may devise. Here again there is

a lot of truth, but as in all the rest of these things it remains far from the whole truth. The experience of daily contact, certainly in our capacity as individuals, justifies the ancient affirmation that man does not live by bread alone.

So far as our personal relationship with this fatalistic reincarnation is concerned, it is a good plan to remember that we are never free *from* anything, but that such measure of freedom as is the heritage of humanity is freedom *with* these forces which, after all, point in the direction of a better understanding of ourselves. As John Oxenham says:

> To every man there openeth,
> A high way and a low.
> And every man decideth
> The way his soul shall go.

ALSON H. ROBINSON.

Jottings

Winston Churchill sounds the praises of Mussolini. So lauds the leopard the tiger's whelp. They know and love the jungle law.

Will the constitutional amendment providing that Congress shall meet on January 1st immediately following its election, thus eliminating the short "lame-duck" session, never be enacted? It is now held up in the House after having passed the Senate. There can be no argument against it which is not selfish or dishonest. Put it through. (See our editorial comment on January 31st last.)

We have before remarked in these columns our interest in human faces as indices of character. This interest was most recently quickened by pictures of Archbishop Diaz, the exiled head of the Catholic Church in Mexico. One look at this porcine countenance tells all we need to know about President Calles and his policy on the religious question.

Louisiana now joins Tennessee, Texas and Mississippi as a state which forbids the teaching of evolution in its public schools. Thus spreads the area of darkness! When is an enlightened and militant public opinion going to wake up and stop this recrudescence of medieval superstition and bigotry?

President Coolidge states that he is "for preparedness but not for militarism." That's like the man who is for drink but not for drunkenness. We confess we can't get these fine distinctions. We know of only one way to get rid of an evil, and that is to destroy it altogether. When we find a physician who is in favor of disease but not of death, we shall perhaps begin to take this sort of thing seriously.

President Butler, of Columbia, in coming out against a third-term campaign for Coolidge, is evidently trying to smoke the President out. Will he succeed? We doubt it. The Chief Executive will sit tight, exactly as he did in the famous police strike in Boston, and then speak only when he sees how the current is setting.

J. H. H.

American Notes

[Editorial Correspondence]

Last Sunday, I was in Mexico. And this is Sunday in Chicago, February 3rd, and I have been to church—the First Methodist Church, absolutely in the heart of the city—two blocks from my hotel, and two blocks from Marshall Field's big store. I was right on the church, before I saw it. You look up and see a towering building, forty or fifty stories high. It is surmounted with a cross, which at one time out-topped all other sky-scrapers in the Loop. The tall building with a cross is filled with offices and stores—rent producing—and the church auditorium is entered off Clark street. It is debated whether this is a case of religion on top of business or of religion supported by business.

When I entered the church, the pastor, Dr. John Thompson was reading from the Old Testament the "promises" of the "land" being given to the "meek" and to those who "would persevere"—and the thought came to me, How little this applies to this Chicago congregation, the most of whom are landless, in fact wouldn't know what to do with land if it were presented to them. But when the choir sang, "My spirit pants for Thee, O Living Word" I thought it had been worth while to come. Dr. Thompson is an Englishman. His voice is not as musical as Gipsy Smith's. He is full of energy, describing himself as "bathed and shaved at 5:30, while the family got up at 7:30, with all breakfasting at 8:00." He will preach "next Sunday on Science and Prayer—the Sunday following on, Is Chicago a Blind City?" You see, he is tackling strong topics. This Sunday, he spoke on "The Anglo-Catholic Movement." The sermon was full of illustrations from English ecclesiastical history and the "Fathers." It was a "Protestant" discourse—with the preacher having in the back of his mind the fear of the Roman-Catholic or Anglo-Catholic Church. He was sarcastic and effective and carried his congregation with him, but I kept asking, Where are we going, if we get where he would take us? The sermon seemed

to be an illustration of the way institutions and churches are kept alive on antagonisms. Nor was I persuaded that the Church is "facing one of the greatest conflicts of the century when it faces the problem of Anglo-Catholicism."

And this is the thought that came to me as I sat with 600 others, namely, that these 600, in the midst of the millions of Chicago might well forget English church history and the "Fathers" and start a Youth Movement i. e. begin to realize the re-creating principles of the Sermon on the Mount, as shown in the Golden Rule and, every Sunday, give testimony of success and failure, so that it would be the place of the Living Word. There would then be little need of worry over the Anglo-Catholic movement. But—it is easy to criticise—Blessings on the First Methodist Church in the Loop! May the principle of The Cross ever dominate its activities and the life of the Loop.

You will be interested in a visit to Hull-House—the home of Jane Addams from its beginning, nearly forty years ago. It is the most prominent Settlement in America, and one of the first. When Miss Addams, in her twenties, came back from London to Chicago, she came with a purpose to establish a "House" on the West Side, which should provide a "center for a higher civic and social life, to institute and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve the conditions of the industrial residents of Chicago." The complexion of the neighbor has changed many times—with tides of people coming and going—but Hull-House, like a light-house, has maintained its position, and its light has not grown dim through the years.

Before dinner I went through the House. I was piloted by a young artist, who naturally showed me the big Studio first. He illustrates the fact that the House is the home of artists, educators, social workers, etc., who find inspiration and opportunity for expression. Every resident must "do" something. Every one must take his turn "tending door." On this particular night, Robert Morse Lovett, of Chicago University, was on duty at the door. I looked into room after room, gymnasium, theatre, class-rooms, post-office, public reading-room, restaurant, etc., etc.—a great number of rooms for nearly every kind of social expression, a "House" for the neighborhood. And Hull-House has performed this function magnificently, for nearly 40 years.

There were about thirty residents at dinner the night I was there. Among the guests was Kenneth Lindsay, Englishman, who is touring the country, under the direction of the League for Industrial Democracy—a students' organization. He told us that England was "in a serious state" with the fundamental necessities of life—food, clothing and shelter—difficult to get.

"We are conscious that we are going down hill. The amazing American prosperity is a source of astonishment to all England." This a sample of the kind of people that sit down at the table of Hull-House. Through its doors some 9,000 people pass each week, during the winter months.

On the night that I arrived in Chicago, a public dinner was given in honor of Miss Addams. Over 1,500 people sat down, with 1,400 turned away (tickets handed back).

Mayor Dever was there and referred to Miss Addams as "the first citizen of the Republic." He affirmed that he brought with him "to lay at her feet, the honor and the respect and love of the whole municipality." He affirmed, "I never reformed anyone by sending the police patrol into the wards. Miss Addams pointed the way 38 years ago. Her work, her spirit, have done more to promote the real welfare of the city than all our political organizations." . . . And Judge Pam stressed her work among the foreign-born. "Fortunate are those who first had Americanism and American institutions interpreted to them by Jane Addams. She stands for a better understanding of the immigrant." And William Allen White was there to speak, "It has been her dream to bring into the life of the average man more self-respect than he ever had before." And President Coolidge sent word, "I am much impressed by the fact she has given her life and strength to the service of humanity." And so on and so on. When she came to reply she said, "I am only a very simple person." This dinner was the crowning of Miss Addams and the truth she has incarnated. Blessed are peacemakers. In the end, they are crowned!

Second Sunday in Chicago. Attended church at Olivet Institute, a most interesting enterprise, on the North side, about a mile from the Loop. Rev. Norman B. Barr is superintendent; has been from the beginning, some 20 years ago. It is a Presbyterian institution, but happily is so thoroughly human, that one would not discover sectarianism, within or without.

What did I find? First, a very helpful service, and I should think by the looks of them a very helpful service to the people—some 250 of whom had gathered. I note two or three interesting features in the service, whose mention may be of use to others. The pastor said, "Let us repeat the Verse for the Month—all together: 'I am the Way, the Truth and the Life.'" I thought it a good idea, since there were many children in the congregation. Another thing. At the close of the service the two pastors passed down the middle aisle to the rear of the church, where the big doors are. When there, they turned, facing the altar, and then the benediction was given. Thereupon the congregation went out, nearly all of them pausing to greet one or other of the pastors. It seemed to me to be an excellent method of preserving the dignity and integrity of the service, while giving the pastors the coveted chance of meeting their people. . . . I cannot be blamed for being personally gratified in finding in the racks copies of the little book, "His Life"—being the interwoven story of the life of Jesus, given in Scriptural language—since some twenty years ago I had a hand in editing the book. This book is used in the services instead of the Bible on the ground, that, "since life is so short, it is more profitable to shut the congregation up to the Life of Christ, solely."

The sermon was just about what a sermon ought to be, short, personal, simple, direct and spiritual. It was about selling Jesus for 30 pieces ($16.50) of silver. There was discussion of values—economic, moral and spiritual, and a picture of people who sold Jesus for money, of those who sold him for nationalism. The tests of discipleship lie in the line of what we are willing to give for him. How much of our money? How much of our intellect? of our energy? Are we willing to stand persecution? . . .

"It is not possible to escape persecution and be a Christian." . . . "People think more of the flag than of the cross, of the Constitution than of the Sermon on the mount." It was a good meeting. I went out bettered.

After the service, I took dinner in the Institute, with about 50 people—part of whom constitute the staff—nurses, physicians, physical directors, kindergartners, musicians, etc. This noon-dinner, after service is a regular feature of the life of the Institute. Then, I went through the great building, covering half a block. Other buildings there are, used in the work of the Institute, for housing the workers, etc. The gymnasium, e. g., is one of the very best in Chicago. There are music rooms, clinics, kindergarten, dispensary, a branch of the Public Library, dental offices, surgery, nursery, cooking, etc., etc.—in short I found a kind of a departmental Institute, covering nearly all the needs of the neighborhood. It costs nearly $100,000 to keep Olivet going—little enough one would think, when he sees the big life functioning there. There are three main departments: Educational, Relief and Religious.

Of course, Olivet has to struggle for existence. But, it grows with each year. The attendance—annually is nearly 200,000. In a survey—by Paul H. Douglas, the number of different individuals enrolled was found to be 7677, coming from 1523 families. Twenty-one races (nationalities) were found to be in Olivet—of these nearly half were found to be Italians (Sicilians).

I came away from Olivet—its pastor and the workers—and walked along Wells St. toward the Loop, feeling like taking off my hat to this social-religious work. If all religious efforts took on similar sane and helpful aspects—there would be little anti-religious animosity.

SYDNEY STRONG.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

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PART II—CHAPTER XXIII

As a Householder

To set up a household was no new experience for me. But the establishment in Natal was different from the ones that I had in Bombay and London. This time part of the expense was solely for the sake of prestige. I thought it necessary to have a household in keeping with my position as an Indian barrister in Natal and as a representative. So I had a nice little house in a prominent locality. It was also suitably furnished. Food was simple, but as I used to invite English friends and Indian co-workers the housekeeping bills were always fairly high.

A good servant is essential in every household. But I have never known how to keep any one as a servant.

I had a friend as companion and help, and a cook who had become a member of the family. I also had office clerks boarding and lodging with me.

I think I had a fair amount of success in this experiment, but it was not without its modicum of the bitter experiences of life.

The companion was very clever and, I thought, faithful to me. But in this I was deceived. He became jealous of an office clerk who was staying with me, and wove such a tangled web that I suspected the clerk. Now this clerical friend had a temper of his own. Immediately he saw that he had been the object of my suspicion, he left both the house and the office. I was pained. I felt that perhaps I had been unjust to him, and my conscience always stung me.

In the meanwhile, the cook needed a few days' leave, or for some other cause I cannot remember, was away. It was necessary to procure another during his absence. Of this man I learnt later that he was a perfect scamp. But for me he proved a godsend. Within two or three days of his arrival he discovered certain irregular things that were going on under my roof without my knowledge, and he made up his mind to warn me. I had the reputation for being a credulous but straight man. The discovery was to him therefore all the more shocking. Every day at one o'clock I used to go home from office for lunch. At about twelve o'clock one day the cook came panting to the office and said, "Please come home at once. There is a surprise for you."

"Now, what is this?" I asked. "You must tell me what it is. How can I leave the office at this hour to go and see it?"

"You will regret it, if you don't come. That is all I can say."

I felt an appeal in his persistence. I went home accompanied by a clerk and the cook who walked ahead of us. He took me straight to the upper floor, pointed at my companion's room, and said, "Open this door and see for yourself."

I saw it all. I knocked at the door. No reply! I knocked heavily so as to make the very walls shake. The door was opened. I saw a prostitute inside. I asked her to leave the house, never to return.

To the companion I said, "From this moment I cease to have anything to do with you. I have been thoroughly deceived and have made a fool of myself. That is how you have requited my trust in you?"

Instead of coming to his senses, he threatened to expose me.

"I have nothing to conceal," said I. "Expose whatever I may have done. But you must leave me this moment."

This made him worse. There was no help for it. So I said to the clerk standing downstairs: "Please go and inform the Police Superintendent, with my compliments, that a person living with me has misbehaved himself. I do not want to keep him in my house but he refuses to leave. I shall be much obliged if he can send me help."

This showed him that I was in earnest. His guilt unnerved him. He apologized to me, entreated me not to inform the police and agreed to leave the house immediately, which he did.

The incident came as a timely warning in my

life. Only now could I see clearly how thoroughly I had been beguiled by this evil genius. In harboring him I had chosen a bad means for a good end. I had expected to "gather figs of thistles." I had known that the companion was a bad character, and yet I believed in his faithfulness to me. In the attempt to reform him I was near ruining myself. I had disregarded the warnings of kind friends. Infatuation had completely blinded me.

But for the new cook I should never have discovered the truth and being under influence of the companion, I should probably have been unable to lead the life of detachment that I then began. I should always have been wasting time on him. He had the power to keep me in the dark and to mislead me.

But God came to the rescue as before. My intentions were pure, and so I was saved in spite of my mistakes, and this early experience thoroughly forewarned me for the future.

The cook had been almost a messenger sent from Heaven. He did not know cooking and as a cook he could not have remained at my place. But no one else could have opened my eyes. This was not the first time, as I subsequently learnt, that the woman had been brought into my house. She had come often before, but no one had the courage of this cook. For every one knew how blindly I trusted the companion. The cook had, as it were, been sent to me just to do this service for he begged leave of me that very moment.

"I cannot stay in your house," he said. "You are so easily misled. This is no place for me."

I let him go.

I now discovered that the man who had poisoned my ears against the clerk was no other than this companion. I tried very hard to make amends to the clerk for the injustice I had done him. It has, however, been my eternal regret that I could never satisfy him fully. Howsoever you may repair it, a rift is a rift.

M. K. GANDHI.

(*Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai.*)

Strange Bedfellows

Is Great Asia being forced into a gigantic entente by the folly of the white race? It was a blow to Great Britain and America some years ago to learn how China and Russia, the two mightiest national aggregates on earth, were coming into sympathetic relations. Instead of being seen for what they were, an exhibition of international brotherhood and square-dealing, the Soviet Government's remission of boxer indemnities, its recognition of China's real position as one of the great nations by dispatching to her capital a full ambassador, its renunciation of extraterritorial privileges, and its honest treatment of the Republic as an equal were viewed as a diabolical plot of enemies of the human race. No blindness like that of those who will not see.

Now that Canton is out to unify China and to champion the type of democracy locally regnant in that country for centuries, perhaps the eyes of the American people may be opened to what is happening in the great continent across the Pacific. No one who knows the Chinese fears for a moment that anything like Soviet Communism is going to evolve out of the celestial turmoil. China has been very slowly developing its own social system in a manner peculiarly *sui generis* and nothing the rest of the world can do is likely to prevent though it will doubtless modify the ultimate outcome. In fact it is modifying it, for the Chinese mentality is second to that of no other national group. And the Chinese are looking far today.

It was my privilege while in Constantinople recently to meet one of the best known of Chinese statesmen, a man of splendid physical proportions as well as of large mental reach, who has occupied with decided success some of the highest positions in the service of his Government. We had a heart to heart talk.

"I am here in Turkey," said in substance this political leader, "to compare Turkish conditions past and present with those in China. Under the capitulations Turkey was bound hand and foot in fashion somewhat similar to the plight of China with her extrality fetters. We Chinese are deeply interested in the way Turkey ended this tyranny without a 'by your leave' to any of the overlording Powers.

"There are of course many differences in the parallelism of conditions in the two nations. Religion complicated Turkey's problems and still does. In China we are absolutely free from religious bias. We have always been tolerant and are willing to let the great religions teach their points of moral excellence to our people. Turkey has had to pass a law forbidding all religious instruction in schools. That would never be needed in our country. We are glad to have the educational help which Christian schools give.

"Again Turkey has passed a coastwise shipping law not unlike that of the United States, your country. Here is a point of similarity with us. China must have the same sort of legislation, but I feel (and others of our leaders would agree) that such a law ought not to go into effect suddenly. We do not desire to bring losses to the owners of ships in the coastal trade of China, hence I favor granting six months or a year to these owners to adjust themselves to the situation which such a law would occasion.

"But one thing in this influence of Turkey upon China I do seriously dread. My journey to this country and study of the questions presented here is going to move many of our leaders to visit this land and draw their own conclusions from what they learn. Throughout her after-war contact with the dominant European Powers Turkey has felt compelled to rely upon militarism for sanction in her demands for justice at their hands. I fear that my countrymen may be impressed with this fact and return to urge a policy of up-to-date armament upon China. Of course everyone knows how in the fifties and sixties Japan was made by European Powers to realize that the only way in which she could climb into the first rank of Great States was through the cultivation of military and naval power. She succeeded beyond everyone's expectations. I dread the influence of all this example and particularly of Turkey's after-war history upon my people. We do not want militarism. Our history proves its uselessness. But Europe may so reenforce Turkey's teaching that my countrymen may be de-

ceived into the cultivation of a militaristic spirit and the practise of war preparedness."

"What would be the effect upon China," I asked, "of the passage by Congress of a law providing that all aliens legally resident in the United States are equally eligible to naturalization"? The face of the statesman lighted up with a most revelatory expression as he told me how the action of America in racially discriminating against Chinese by holding them ineligible to naturalization had stabbed his people to the heart. Such a law he realized would leave practically unchanged our anti-immigration legislation and admit annually a negligible number of his countrymen, but "It would forever cement the friendship between the two nations and lift the entire Pacific world to a new plane of peaceful intercourse."

Who in America would have looked to see China learning from Turkey in her relations with the extrality Powers? Russia and Turkey have been driven together by Europe's and America's treatment of the Soviet Government. Persia has already swung into sympathy. India is seething with discontent over the insults of her fellow Dominions in the British Empire. And now the Far East and the Far West of Asia are entering into a relationship of mutual influence against the aggressions of the Anglo-Saxon peoples.

It certainly is no time to talk of intervention in China. Fortunately Washington has stood firm for no interference in the present crisis through which the Asian Republic is passing and Japan is maintaining the same attitude of friendship—semi-friendship I suppose my Chinese friend in Constantinople would call it, for he remarked, "As long as Japan maintains post-offices in Manchuria and is unwilling to cancel those of the twenty-one demands still in force, we cannot think she is treating China fairly or in friendly fashion." Those of us who know Japan believe that this nearest Pacific neighbor of ours is bound to satisfy the Chinese Republic on these points. When that is done Asia and European Russia will stand together.

Our country holds the key to all this situation. Given such a law as the one above referred to, let it be followed up by our expressed consent to the ending of extrality and to China's control of her customs, and that nation will be saved from militarism.

As one journeys through Europe, gets into the inwardness of the League of Nations and surveys at first hand the Asiatic situation, he realizes what America might mean to all these problems. In a very true sense through our racially discriminatory laws we are the enemy of human progress and happiness. Our protective tariff which protects no one except a few of our rich men, is damning the prosperity of our farmers and is reducing the working people of Europe to a condition not far from slavery. Our debt policy, our refusal to call the world into conference which will outlaw war, cancel international indebtedness and end militarism through disarmament, our enlarging preparedness policy, and our treatment of the Philippines, Central America, Haiti, Samoa and the Virgin Islands are making us the most hated of all peoples. We can change this, if we will. But it will take a lot of will.

Vellore, India.

DOREMUS SCUDDER.

Can Materialism Be Spiritualized?

[A Protest Against Religious Futility]

Perhaps the question should be put just the other way; "Can Spirituality Be Materialized?" Most of the spirituality that is self-advertised, and otherwise lauded is very poor stuff, words, words, words, "nothing but leaves," as void of social fruitage at least as ever any fig tree that mocked an expectant mouth. The folks who profess it are generally material enough, on the personal side, that is they are just the kind of people who love a good appearance, and a plenty of the "good things" of life. Almost without exception in the supreme test of the Great War all the churches that prate of high ideals, soul salvation, "entire sanctification," and all the rest of the "spiritual" lingo, fell easy victims to the economic drive of the hour in their particular nations, without so much as knowing in the majority of cases that there was any such drive, and showed themselves with appalling unanimity ready to throw God over-board in the interests of property and respectability. That is putting it harshly, but the harshest way of telling it is not equal to the utter wickedness and the colossal calamity of it. And so far as yet appears, a good reason for stating the past in the plainest terms, there is very, very little reason to cherish the expectation that the churches as a whole would not in an equal crisis, and under equal pressure from material forces, quite as unanimously again choose property and respectability as against God and humanity.

What excuse, then, can there be for suggesting that spirituality is in need of being materialized, since the "spiritual" are so pitifully material in their motivation now?

Well, the materialism which I have in mind, and which it seems to me the "spiritual" so urgently need, is something quite different from the quest for personal standing, and opulence for themselves and their families. It is, to define it simply and briefly, a common-sense recognition of the fact that whatever God may be, he has made the world out of quite matter-of-fact stuff, and that all of us are involved, intimately, continuously, inescapably, both in the physical mass of which as individuals we are infinitesimal parts, and in the world process, to which the conditions of our own age bear the relation of, one might say, a day to a century.

If we could only get "spiritual" people to stop for a few minutes their easy blabbings about God, and take seriously the task of finding out what God is doing with all of us, over at least a representative and truly revealing portion of time, there would be some hope of making their spirituality, thus brought into harmony with the operations of God in the physical world and through the aeons of history, something more than the sentimental and emotional gas which it commonly is. They would not chatter so easily about love and good-will, and then follow the next gang of sword rattlers and war-profiteers into whatever orgies of hate and blood-letting they chose to put over. No, I am not saying it in a very nice way. I am nauseated with "nice" people, who are, and always have

been, responsible for the major abuses and iniquities of our social life, and are always evading the public judgment which is their due by putting on a polite front and saying pleasant things. What a lot of religiousness and niceness is still the social whitewash which is used yet, as it was in Jesus's day, to cover up dead men's bones and hide the looting of the homes and wages of the poor. I am not of those who fear or dislike the Twenty-third Chapter of Matthew. I think it should be read publicly in every church in Christendom every day in the year.

But better yet would it be, although Matthew's vitriolic scripture is the utterance of Jesus himself, if in every church every day for the life-time of this generation at least, there could be read aloud, or given without the book, a simple, vernacular statement of the substance of economic story, the manner in which the physical world has determined where and what and who we are, and the play in particular upon the shaping of human destiny of the creative process as man himself has operated it through the tools and the work of his hands. This would be to say with Kepler, and to say it realistically, "Oh, God, I think Thy thoughts after Thee." It would be, in no mystical or merely personal sense, but with a compass beyond that of which the saints of old ever dreamed, to "walk with God," to get into step with the Almighty, and not merely the Almighty Dollar.

Then why put the query of this article in the reverse order; "Can Materialism Be Spiritualized?"

For the reason that until we stop thinking of materialism in terms of just individual everyday greed and conformity to our environment for the sake of personal and present prosperity, or, on the other hand, as a dogma of atheistic rationalism, and until we realize that the word has in it when properly used the largest possibilities in the interpretation and expansion of whatever idea and idealism is worth while, we are going to continue as blind as most of us are today to the fact that it is upon such an understanding of materialism that a real and world-wide revival of religion waits.

Modern science has, in fact, almost immaterialized the material, so has it resolved the solidest substances we know into infinitesimal particles in something like planetary relations to each other. At the same time science is teaching us, slowly, too slowly, to think more and more after the manner of material, and not immaterial beings, that is as subject to natural, physical process, and not as operating in a vacuum of sublimated ideas. Unfortunately, what we commonly call science is almost as dumb and ignorant with respect to economic law and process as is theology itself. Man's part as tool-maker and tool-user, that is, man as himself the creator of civilizations and their consequents, even to systems of thought and morals, is as much beyond the understanding or even the serious consideration of the average scientist as he is out of range of the intellectual legerdermain of the philosophers and the preachers.

Yet here is the larger science, and the real spirituality. What does it avail us to understand natural science if we do not apprehend social science? Does not our day declare that the scientists themselves are more serious enemies of human welfare than were ever primitive savages of the most cannibalistic type if the last word of science to us is to be the perfection of chemical and mechanical processes by which particular groups of politicians, as the servants of this or that combination of the lords of special privilege, may wipe out whole cities and vast bodies of men and women at their will? If we do not know how these masters of money have become such lords of privilege and manipulators of power to the menace of mankind what is all the rest of our science worth? Here is the morning's paper with a large head-line that runs clear across the page, "5,000 Money Kings of Nation Open Convention Today." It is a banker's convention, and the description of them as "kings" is no mere bit of newspaper English, it corresponds, indeed, to the fact. But what have the scientists, the philosophers, or the preachers to tell us of how and why this is so, or what it means to us and to the rest of the world that having shorn ourselves so obviously and boastfully of the traditional kings, somehow we have enthroned kings yet more powerful to govern us, and through us to work the dictatorship of the world?

Not until we get over our nonsensical and immoral fear of materialism, and exalt it to the primary place in our thinking and dealing with human affairs are we going to have a saner and a safer world for the common folks who live close to the common necessities and the common furnishings of mankind. All our mooning after great men, whether the great man is a Coolidge or a Christ, and all our laudation of ideas and ideals will get us nowhere except into deeper fog and more hopeless entanglement in material maladjustments which make mockery of our intellectualism and our spiritualities until we recognize the truth that "in the beginning is the word," that is, manifestation, materialization, "incarnation," if you please and that the great apostle spoke more profoundly than he knew when he said, "Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual."

I know that I am challenging the whole life habit of our teaching classes, of practically every school, from the doctrinaire Fundamentalists to the not less doctrinaire rationalists. Philosophical materialism is as much the bunk as philosophical religionism. Both ignore life, and the shaping of life itself in the interest of an abstract intellectualism. This is the supreme heresy, the capital vice of all ages, the failure of those who lead us to deal intelligently and intelligibly with life, as mass and process, while they divert us with deceptive adulations or indictments of heroes and villains, or with elaborate disquisitions, conservative or liberal, about doctrines and systems of thought as if we lived in them instead of living, as in fact we do, in certain very matter-of-fact relations to the ground, and the tools with which we till the ground, and the weapons with which we maintain our misappropriations of the material things which belong to our brothers. *The over-emphasis of the individual and the idea,* this is the "foolishness of preaching," whether the preaching be "reactionary" or "modern." Our intellectualisms and our spiritualities are both alike largely sham. What we need to do is to put the material, and the understanding of the material, where it belongs.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

Los Angeles, California.

Reminiscences of Debs

II

Terre Haute, Indiana, humbly realizes that it cannot claim Eugene Debs as its own; to it, merely the honor of his citizenship. Terre Haute, that is to say, had Debs, the neighbor. There live the people who played hide and seek with him; people who "spelled down" with him at school; friends who used to come and "sit" with the family of an evening. Terre Haute saw the tow-headed boy when he started off with a dinner pail to work on the railroad; but it had no idea that the boy was starting a career which was to take him, eventually, into a citizenship far wider than it could offer, one who would, after a time, bring the whole world into their ken. Orator, lecturer, labor leader, Socialist, candidate for president, prisoner at Atlanta—that was the way the world knew Debs. A neighbor—a loving, kindly neighbor—that was the way Terre Haute knew him.

"Gene" Debs' townsmen tell many stories of their famous son. A pair of gloves came through the mail to him—coarsely-knitted, ill-fitting, full of rough places. An old lady had made them; and she wrote, "I have put love into every stitch, and I hope you'll be warmed by that love." Debs wore the gloves all winter long, everywhere—to large cities, among kid-gloved folk—because of that love.

Debs was always parting with his money, his clothes, anything he had that someone else chanced to need. The story of his visit to the wives and children whose menfolk were on strike in a small western town, is well known. He had with him two hundred dollars which was to take him to California, the next stop in his campaign. When he came out of the place he had empty pockets—he had even to borrow a quarter to send a telegram for money to continue his journey. Coming out of a store one night he saw a shivering man gazing through the window to the warmth within. Then and there, an overcoat changed owners. And that was not the only one.

With the children Debs was literally a marked man. He lined them up at the soda fountains and treated them—not once, but as many times as the rascals would come back, or until some indignant protector of "that foolish Debs" came to the rescue. The newsboys literally fleeced him. Wasn't he the "guy" who always paid a dime for a penny paper, and then returned the paper! They used to pass the word along that Debs had come to town—Debs with his crazy Socialist ideas! And yet, it was because of those "crazy" ideas that he was the man he was, the man who did what he did. This, Terre Haute failed to comprehend; but it adored him in life and honored him in death. It was their own Hoosier poet, James Whitcomb Riley who spoke the mind of the town when he wrote,

> .....a man 'at stands
> And jest holds out his hands,
> As warm a heart as ever beat
> 'Twixt here and the Jedgment Seat.

It was that same warm heart that took a mortally sick man from the sanitarium to the post office, in one of the last weeks of his life, that he might send a money order to the Sacco-Vanzetti Relief Fund. Incidentally, that was one of the last times the signature of this great lover of mankind was written.

Older residents of Terre Haute recall the day when Debs came back to town after receiving for the first time the nomination for the presidency. They were asking, "Will he be the same 'Gene' Debs he has always been?" And all at once they were answered. Debs saw a Negro porter he knew. His hand went out to his friend. "Why, bless my heart, Bob, it's good to see you," he said. . . . It was "Gene" Debs, not Mister Debs who had come home.

But, it was not in this "lower strata" of society, alone, that this man was admired and trusted. A man well known in the world of "big business"—at a time when someone had characterized Debs as a "wild-eyed manace" fit only for jail, or even to be hanged—this man said his say about Gene Debs, and it was something like this,

> I have known Debs since he was a boy, and no better man did I ever know. And I knew his father before him. If you knew Debs as well as I do you could never say that he ought to be hanged, or even jailed. Though I do not agree with him in his political stand, I trust him absolutely.

That same day, the man sent Debs this telegram, "If you need help, call on me to any extent."

Jail, we know, was more than once Debs' portion. They tell of the day, during the war, when he was to be taken to Atlanta. Some said the men would refuse to run the trains—that they would strike. But they did not strike: they took the trains to Atlanta. And this in the face of the fact that, not so many years before, Debs had organized the trainmen—an almost superhuman task—and served his time in jail for his pains. Perhaps the irony of it—perhaps, even, the sadness of it may have come to his mind; but all Debs said was, "They know not what they do." . . . The words have a familiar ring. Another said similar words, long years ago.

Terre Haute knew why Gene went to Atlanta prison. To its citizens he was no "criminal." John Milton Scott expressed what they thought in the words,

> Imprisoned—
> He would speak but to bless,
> Whose hands would rebuild the world
> In the love and the beauty of Christ—
>
> Lover and neighbor
> In every cell of his brain,
> Lover and neighbor
> In every act of his life.

And Terre Haute loved, if it did not understand, this neighbor—the friend of its joys and sorrows. A book might be written of Debs' homecomings. Always, at those times, Terre Haute was at the station. There was that wonderful day when the train brought him back from Atlanta, broken and ill, but more radiant than ever. And the day he arrived from Bermuda, beaming—why? Because *the authorities had not obstructed his entrance into the country!* And the day on which he came home for the last time. . . . That day, one feels, was the beginning of Terre Haute's understanding of Eugene Debs. No doubt there will come back to some his words of consolation to one who had lost his mother. "I never knew *my* mother," he said, "until after she was gone. We never know anyone until they are dead. Then we understand their work, and we love them for it. . . ." And so says Terre Haute, today, of Gene Debs.

BLANCHE WATSON.

The Study Table

The Woman Problem

In the conflict within the feminist ranks over the laws that shall govern women in industry is being fought once more the endless struggle between authority and self-government. The liberty-loving Frenchmen of the 18th century who insisted upon natural rights cut the ground from under authority, but the social reformers of today seem eager to find shelter under its protecting wings. To be sure, it is authority in a new guise. Instead of the pontiff or sovereign claiming divine sanction, the contemporary fetish appears as a political group endowed with *omniscience*. Conservatives, Liberals and Socialists all kneel at the same shrine. Miss LaFollette in the chapters of her book* concerning women inquires into the nature of government and its relation to economic exploitation, and suggests the direction that women must take if they are to emerge from the inferior position which they have so long occupied.

Olive Schreiner observed that "behind the phenomenon of female parasitism has always been another and yet larger social phenomenon; it has invariably been preceded . . . by the subjugation of large bodies of other human creatures, either as slaves, subject races, or classes," from whose excessive labors unearned wealth has been accumulated by the dominant class or race. It was her belief that "free trade in labor and equality of training . . . is essential if the organic aptitudes of a sex or class are to be determined." Natural conditions must take the place of artificial restrictions.

Miss LaFollette, with a fuller appreciation of the part played by artificial restrictions, and of the steps needed to clear them away, brings the discussion into the realm of practical politics. Accepting Oppenheimer's definition of the State as "an organization primarily designed to perpetuate the division of Society into an owning and exploiting class and a landless, exploited class," she shows how the repeal of monopolies would benefit society through the economic emancipation of the subject classes, while at the same time reducing the functions of the State, eliminating its oppressive power, and permitting the individual to escape from group tyranny. Men, she contends, still endure a high degree of industrial and political slavery.

> The man who is entirely dependent for his livelihood upon the will of an employer is an industrial slave, and the man who may be drafted into an army and made to fight . . . is a slave of the State.

Monopoly has flourished under protection of the State, and with the disappearance of the frontier a surplus of labor appears as unemployment in the centers of population, accompanied by reduced purchasing power and apparent over-production.

> The breadwinner who has neither land nor capital is thus forced to take his chance in a labor-market overcrowded by applicants for work who are in exactly his position; they are shut out from opportunity to work for themselves, and obliged to accept such employment as they can get at a wage determined not by their capacity to produce, but by the number of their competitors,

oppressed at the same time by a tax system that bears with great severity upon the poor.

> Such disadvantages (adds Miss LaFollette), tend not only to keep wages near the subsistence level, but to keep opinions orthodox—or if not orthodox, unexpressed.

By gaining the right to vote women have put themselves on a level with the factory hand. The game of politics is so rigged that it makes very little difference how the ballot is cast. To employ it successfully against privilege the voter must know what privilege means and what practical measures must be undertaken to eliminate it. Men and women engaged in making a living produce wealth directly from the natural resources of the earth, or they work raw materials into desired forms, or engage in trade. The sense of fairness which is innate, or has come to be accepted as axiomatic, insists upon a fair field and no favor for the workers; but our laws lag behind our perceptions. The private ownership of human beings was condemned by the conscience of mankind long before the support of the law was withdrawn from chattel slavery; and the law still supports the private monopoly of land and thus sanctions indirect or industrial slavery.

If there were no sex discriminations women would still be subject to exploitation, and it is a realization of this fact that inspires the advocates of restrictive laws for women and children, inconsistent as their arguments appear to be with the arguments for equal freedom so effectively used in procuring political equality. Touching on this subject in a recent issue of the *Atlantic*, a Business Woman says,

> Several generations ago, when the family was large and land and rents cheap, it was quite possible for the man of average ability to support a family of ten or more. Not so today. The costs of living have risen to such an extent that a man cannot carry more than one-fourth of the load that was carried by his grandsires,

so that nearly two million working-class wives have had to come to the rescue. The writer suggests the child pension, another burden on industry, as an expedient to be used in face of the growing difficulty of making a living.

Miss LaFollette has a more practical insight. While she admits the logic of community support for children, "so long as the community sanctions the economic system which makes this burden too heavy for the great majority of parents, and a political system which may force male children to sacrifice their lives in war as soon as parents have completed the task of bringing them up," her remedy is to restore the power of self-support by removing the legal restraints which have made land dear and rents high. She is aware that "the tendency of modern welfare legislation is to make a complete sacrifice of individual rights not to the rights but to the hypothetical interests of others," and that "for every individual who happens to benefit by the sacrifice, there is another who suffers by it."

If women decide to seek equality with men before the law, they will have to find another way of correcting abuses besides special protective legislation, so dear to the paternalistic mind. When they realize that "Every phase of the question of freedom for women is bound up with the larger question of human freedom," and are ready to join men in an intelligent attack upon injustice, the force of numbers and unity of purpose will be difficult to resist. But as training and convention at one time ranged a majority of women on the side of anti-suffrage, so these conservative forces are influential today in preventing criticism of accepted institutions. Charity is the safety-valve for injustice, and is in good form. Sympathies are easily aroused for laws to limit the hours of working women

*"Concerning Women," by Suzanne LaFollette. Albert and Charles Boni.

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

HOW CONGRESS WORKS TOWARDS PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

These bills were all passed on a single day:

H. R. 11762. An act to provide for the sale of uniforms to individuals separated from the military or naval forces of the United States. Passed by the Senate February 7.

H. R. 15604. An act for the promotion of rifle practice throughout the United States. Passed by the Senate February 7.

H. R. 15651. An act to encourage breeding of riding horses for army purposes. Passed by the Senate February 7.

H. R. 15653. An act to furnish public quarters, fuel, and light to certain civilian instructors in the U. S. Military Academy. Passed by the Senate February 7.

H. R. 12212. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to dispose of obsolete aeronautical equipment to accredited schools, colleges and universities. Passed by the Senate February 7.

H. R. 9045. An act to establish a national military park at and near Fredericksburg, Va., and to mark and preserve historical points connected with the Battle of Fredericksburg, Spottsylvania Court House, Wilderness and Chancellorsville, including Salem Church, Va. Passed by the Senate February 7.

H. R. 15652. Fix the age limit for training in the first year's course in citizen's military training camps. Passed on February 7.

H. R. 6246. Establish a national military park at the battle field of Stones River, Tenn. Passed on February 7.

—Clipped from the U. S. Daily of February 10, 1927.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

Dear Sir:

In view of the prevalence of addiction to narcotic drugs and the danger that the evil may grow until it is beyond eradication, having begun only a generation or two ago as a hidden evil and already numbering its victims by thousands and tens of thousands until now it is no longer a hidden menace, but an open peril causing the gravest apprehensions to medical, educational and religious bodies, patriotic and civic associations, and the platforms of all political parties.

And since it has been demonstrated by extended investigations of the United States Treasury Department and by records of Public Health Offices that the evil has its largest proportionate number of victims not among the irresponsible elements of society, but that all classes are open to its stealthy advances, the Treasury Report, 1919, revealing the portentous fact that the largest proportionate number of victims are found among "housewives, laborers, doctors, nurses, pharmacists"; and the head of the Board of Health of San Francisco reporting that the "great majority of the victims are found among the upper strata of society including doctors, lawyers, statesmen, business men, intelligent and able mechanics, only a small percentage being of the criminal type"; thus striking the country in its muscle, its brain and its heart.

And it being further recognized that the peril is worldwide, China reporting the destruction of a hundred to two hundred millions of her people during her experience with the drug, and the Representative of Persia telling the World Opium Conference that, "unless struck quickly and at the root it will be the destruction not only of many millions of people, but of many nations likewise."

And in view of the fact now widely recognized that the habit of addiction quickly develops a disease that can be subdued only by adequate medical care in connection with intelligent public action, and in view of the responsibility of the medical profession for treatment of disease, the support of public opinion should be given to encourage physicians to attack the problems of addiction with the same heroic spirit which they have shown in attacking yellow fever and like devastating plagues.

And in view of the necessity of awakening and directing a great mass of public opinion in order that the conscience of the nations and of statesmen may be aroused to the point that the overthrow of the gigantic world menace shall ultimately be accomplished.

Now therefore in view of these and other considerations of vital importance to all humanity, the White Cross International Anti-narcotics Society respectfully requests Your Excellency to designate by proclamation the period from February 20 to February 27th inclusive, as Anti-narcotic Education Week, and that you call upon churches, clubs, societies, and all assemblies to frame and adopt resolutions expressive of abhorrence of the evil; and calling

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and children, to protect them with safety devices, to assure them a minimum wage, insurance and pensions. None of these expedients threatens the unearned income of the monopolist.

The attempt to end an old abuse, on the other hand, sends a tremor through the social framework and brings the Liberal to the support of the Tory. The powerful classes who live on rents and trade discrimination are quick to know that their favorable position is menaced, and they do their best to silence discussion. Our land system, like the system of slavery a century ago, is protected by a taboo; and women will sink with men into a worse condition of industrial servitude if they do not overcome it by joining in the attack on unjust laws and helping to secure equality of opportunity regardless of sex.

While there was a frontier (i. e. unfenced natural resources) the problems that are now so insistent did not exist. If conditions of employment were not satisfactory to the worker, he could move to the spot where nature offered greater reward for exertion. Wage slavery developed as free land disappeared, and, as Miss LaFollette aptly says, it is necessary again to put natural resources in competition with industry for the employment of labor.

> The right to labor and to enjoy the fruits of one's labor means only the right of free access to the source of subsistence, which is land.

Jefferson put it in a phrase when he said, "The land belongs in usufruct to the living," not to a favored few. The French economists who gave currency to the expression, *laissez-faire, laissez-passer,* aimed at removing all the barriers that have been raised between man and man by ignorant or corrupt law-makers. *Laissez-faire* in its true sense calls for the elimination of the legal favoritism that makes it possible for one man to oppress or to rob another.

It is Miss LaFollette's main contention that the ulitmate emancipation of women "will depend not upon the abolition of the restrictions which have subjected her to man . . . but upon *the abolition of all those restrictions of natural human rights that subject the mass of humanity to the privileged class.*" All the special difficulties that confront women, as wives, as mothers, as wage earners, as outcasts, have their roots in the monopolistic economic system. They are for the most part problems of involuntary poverty. Open the way to self-employment and "the peculiar disabilities of women workers would disappear with the disabilities of laborers in general, and not a stroke of legislation would be required to make industry both safe and profitable to the woman worker."

Blinded by the misconception that it is within the power of governments to extend prosperity and happiness by coercive laws, the disinherited masses are wandering in a labyrinth. It is notable that this book, pointing a way of escape, should have been written by a woman.

FRANK W. GARRISON.

on the press, clergy, educators, and all persons in positions of influence to utter to youth and all others their solemn warning against even the least beginnings of these insidious poisons, and registering their appeal to public opinion of all nations to the end that all may recognize their responsibility and unite in efforts against this enemy of mankind.

It is further respectfully suggested that such resolutions and expressions of public opinion be committed either to some officer of the State whom you may designate, or to Honorable Stephen G. Porter, Washington, D. C., Chairman of the American Commission to the World Opium Conference, or that they be sent to the office of the White Cross, Seattle, by whom effective use will be made of them.

We have the honor to be

Respectfully,

THE WHITE CROSS
International Anti-narcotics Society
Ambrose M. Bailey,
President.
Wm. K. McKibben,
Executive Secretary.

OFFER $4,000 TO STIMULATE CREATIVE WORK OF NEGRO

Harmon Foundation Opens Second Annual Awards for Colored Achievement in Music, Fine Arts, Sciences, Business Organization and Religious Work

Negroes in this country are given another impetus to creative work in music, fine arts, the sciences, business organization and religious work through the announcement made today of the Harmon Foundations renewed offer of $4,000 in awards for the outstanding accomplishments of colored people. Lincoln's birthday, the anniversary of the great emancipator, marked the opening of the second of an annual series of the William E. Harmon Awards for Distinguished Achievement Among Negroes. A statement explaining the offer was issued by Dr. George E. Haynes, Secretary of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches, who is administering the awards for the Harmon Foundation.

Seven first awards of $400 with gold medals and the same number of second awards of $100 with bronze medals will be given in the fields of literature, music, fine arts, business including industry, science including invention, education and religious service. Both white and colored persons are eligible for an eighth award of $500 with a gold medal which will be given to the individual making the most distinctive contribution during the year to the betterment of relations between the two races. As no music award was made in 1926, the fund in this field may be used this year, should the judges decide contributions merit such added recognition. It may be distributed by increasing the amounts of the first and second awards or by duplicating them.

Nominations and applications will be received by Dr. Haynes at 105 East 22nd Street, New York, until August 15th. Successful candidates will be named on or about January 1, 1928, and awards will be presented on Lincoln's birthday, 1928.

"It is hoped by the Harmon Foundation," said Dr. Haynes, "that in bringing public recognition to the exceptional accomplishments of colored people, their achievement may be given a degree of distinction which has not been possible heretofore. The results of the first year of the series, which just closed, are most encouraging in that such talent was discovered as that of Palmer C. Hayden, the artist whose fine paintings were executed in a small room in New York's Greenwich Village in the free hours he had from his work as a housecleaner; James C. Evans, a former student of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose findings in radio were considered valuable contributions to science, and others who gave constructively to the various fields of endeavor.

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